

The Nation

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The Nation

Reviews.

A NEW LIFE OF BYRON.

"Byron." By ETHEL COLBURN MAYNE. (Methuen. 2 vols. 21s. net.)

MISS MAYNE has accomplished a difficult task with adequate knowledge, a power of vivid presentation, and skill in narrative. Happily, she has no "revelations" to make; but she co-ordinates the material which has accumulated since Moore's "Life" appeared in 1830, and she animates it with a lively spirit. Some of her conclusions lie open to dispute, and this is inevitable. It may be said that she accepts the view of Byron's relations with his half-sister, Augusta, put forth in the "Astarte" of Lord Lovelace, and rejects the Mary Chaworth theory of Mr. Richard Edgcumbe.

The Byron of his contemporaries was either the dazzling figure of romance—not wholly unreal—or the dark incarnation of evil, leader of the Satanic forces against the divine powers and the divine law of righteousness. His influence waned; the revolutionary spirit of revolt declined; the destructive temper, in large measure, lost its energy; literary art became more subtle and refined. Byron came to be regarded as the great *poseur* who had beguiled all Europe into a belief in his sincerity; the melodramatist who had put his own legend on the stage, and surrounded the actor's figure with tawdry and tarnished stage-properties. And now we know that under all Byron's superficial insincerities lay a fundamental sincerity, and that such ringing blows as his could not be dealt except by genuine rage or indignation. The conception of himself which he held up before his imagination, which he magnified and decorated, which he sought to impress upon the public, was not caught out of the air. The ideal Byron was not so very far removed from the veritable man; to assert the supremacy of the Ego was at the heart of each; to liberate a mass of explosive force was with each a necessity.

It is impossible to separate the works from the man. In both we perceive

"Light and darkness,
And mind and dust, and passions and pure thoughts
Mix'd and contending."

All in him was for long advancing towards the amazing end—"Don Juan" and Greece. There, at last, he uttered all that was in him—romance and realism, indignation, bitterness, ardent aspirations, cynicism, and always indomitable courage. He did not think too highly of his sorry Greeks; all the better; in spite of their sordid squabbles he maintained a desperate faith in their cause; he was in for an adventure which might prove glorious, and he would see it through to the end. Must one add that Teresa Guiccioli would not be a necessity where Delos rose and Phœbus sprang?

The superman had not been invented then; but we perceive him in the real Byron living in conjunction with a shameful and shameless subman. In his relations with women, Byron was surely less than human in the full meaning of that word. Miss Mayne is far from disguising the fact. "Twelve months of any given individual," he wrote, "was perfect *ipeacuanha*." If the given individual was a woman, the emetic might operate in a much shorter space of time, and then Byron could be both contemptuous and cruel. In some instances, indeed, the injured party was the victim of her own folly. The moths fluttered to the lamp; the wild birds broke their wings against the gleaming pharos. A troop of ghosts, such as Shakespeare's witches might have evoked, pass before us as we read these volumes—"dear dead women, with such hair, too! What's become of all the gold?" When Erasmus Darwin wrote his "Loves of the Plants," Miss Seward, who suggested the plan, could not concern herself with the Linnean sexual classification, the theme not being "strictly proper for a

female pen." The author of these volumes has undertaken a task demanding greater courage than that contemplated and rejected by the Swan of Lichfield.

Of course, much was against Byron; he was unfortunate from the start. "Your mother is a fool," said one of the boy's companions; and his answer was, "I know it." She was not without some virtues; but her furies and her foolish tenderness were alike injurious to such a son. Let us think of the romantic Childe Harold at his best—not in connection with his "Paphian Girls," or Lady Caroline Lamb, or Lady Oxford, or Claire Clairmont, or La Fornarina, or Marianna Segati; but as the master, for a time, of Mrs. Mule, an ancient housemaid, of gaunt and witchlike appearance, "the perpetual scarecrow of his visitors." Mrs. Mule was brought by Byron from the lodgings in Bennet Street to The Albany. When he married she was with him still, greatly improved in dress, and with a new peruke. "The poor old devil was so kind to me," served as his justification. Was not some human monster of Victor Hugo's imagination saved at the Last Judgment by the pleadings of a toad, to which he had shown himself merciful? Let us hope that Mrs. Mule—a far superior witness—will on that day of trial, in a new peruke, confront and put to rout the Devil's Advocate when the Byron case is called.

"He was a man's man," is Miss Mayne's decision. ". . . everything that was good in him emerged for men alone." His literary ambition was so large that he was little troubled by the petty jealousy of authors. He could give cordial praise and friendly encouragement to others. On occasions he could be generous of coin, as well as of praise, and could even be delicate in his generosity. Francis Hodgson desired, before he married, to clear off his father's debts, and the £1,500 which was needed came from Byron's purse. "Oh, if you knew . . ." writes Hodgson, "the exaltation of heart, ay, and of head, too, I feel at being free from these depressing embarrassments, you would, as I do, bless my dearest friend and brother, Byron." It is true that he could make a favor, when he pleased, almost an insult. Leigh Hunt, when he visited Italy, was made to feel the difference between Shelley's eager friendliness and the grudging benefits received at Byron's hands. But there were, in this instance, excuses. Together with Shelley's "gentlest of the wise," Mrs. Hunt, and a swarm of "little blackguards . . . dirtier and more mischievous than Yahoos," were dumped upon Italian soil—"Was there ever such a *kraal* out of the Hottentot country?" It is little that Byron could sacrifice a fortune—and at a time when the old-gentlemanly vice of avarice had grown upon him—in the cause of Greece, for did he not sacrifice himself?

Miss Mayne has made some interesting notes on her predecessors in the record of Byron's words and deeds. The "Life" by Moore is, of course, an essential basis for later biography; but it suffers from that *suppressio veri* which, in 1830, was unavoidable. The work of Karl Elze is a laborious and conscientious compilation; but a little yeast would have made the German dough of a more palatable texture. Of Jeaffreson's "Real Lord Byron," the present biographer writes: "All through it the author argues interminably against now an actual, now an imagined opponent, and we rise from our perusal with brain battered and image shattered. Neither a 'real' nor an unreal Byron emerges from these wordy pages, wherein there is an occasional shrewdness, an intermittent flash of insight, a love of truth that pulses, however, chiefly for the sake of defeating someone else." To John Galt, as to Moore, Byron was personally known: "Galt, shrewdly observant and sceptical as he was, showed himself, nevertheless, the most sensitive plate for the Byronic image which that image ever found." As they sailed together in the Mediterranean during part of Childe Harold's first pilgrimage, Byron sat amidst the shrouds "in the tranquillity of the moonlight, churning an inarticulate melody," seeming almost "apparitional," and

"suggesting dim reminiscences of him who shot the albatross. He was as a mystery in a winding-sheet, crowned with a halo." The last woman in Byron's life was Lady Blessington. Miss Mayne ranks her higher as a witness than Trelawny: "There is no comparison between her book, so far as it goes, and any other, except Galt's, for the early days. Taking these together, we get a convincing impression . . . not wholly favorable as it is in Moore's quasi-caricature of one of the most *ondoyant et divers* of human beings." As compared with most other women in his life, says Miss Mayne, she was in an immensely advantageous position—"for she was not at all in love with him, yet was aware that, had she willed it, he could at any moment have been deeply in love with her." He spoke to Lady Blessington "with more real sincerity . . . than was his wont." The acquaintance, ripening quickly to friendship, was of short duration. He parted from her with an outbreak of tears.

Miss Mayne closes with a eulogy of Byron as "the most splendid example we have of the struggling, winning and losing, enjoying and scorning, aspiring and failing, loving and hating, human spirit." Some of those who admire the genius of Byron, and recognise the mingled good and evil in his nature, may fail to rise to the height of this argument. Perhaps a word might even be said in defence of the British bourgeois and much-reviled Philistine. Has there not sometimes been a little cant in the declamation against English cant?

E. DOWDEN.

A PRINCESS OF PRUSSIA.

"Forty-five Years of My Life (1770-1815)." By the Princess LOUISE OF PRUSSIA. (Nash. 16s. net.)

THE many readers of the memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino, god-daughter of the Princess Louise of Prussia, will welcome the memoirs of the latter, which she wrote in the years 1811-15, and again in 1836, the year of her death. They were composed in French, the language of the Court of Berlin, even when it was oppressed by Napoleon. Edited by Princess Radziwill, and translated by Mr. A. R. Allinson, they form a welcome addition to the somewhat scanty stock of memoirs relating to the Prussian Court. It must be confessed that they lack the sparkle and vivacity characteristic of the best French works of this kind. Possibly, the writer did not feel so completely at home with French idioms as to diversify her pages with expressions that arrest the thought or body forth scenes picturesquely, as, for instance, General Marbot and the Comtesse de Boigne succeeded in doing. Then, again, events in Prussia, up to the year 1805, were far less interesting than those which unrolled themselves in France; and the actors were often uninspiring.

It cannot be said that Princess Louise possessed powers sufficiently vivid to make up for these initial defects. Nevertheless, her diary convinces by its truth and homeliness. She notes down for her children, for whom these pages were primarily designed, family events in considerable detail. Perhaps some of them might have been omitted in an edition designed for the public, which cannot feel much interest in the disagreements of her father and mother, or the escapades and liaisons of her brother. These last are referred to with so deadening a propriety as to awaken no interest; and yet the young Prince Ludwig Ferdinand was almost a hero of romance. He was called the Bayard of the Prussian forces which marched into Thuringia to meet Napoleon's legions in 1806; and his premature death in the first battle, at Saalfeld, cast a gloom over the whole army. The editress claims (p. 15) that he displayed "the most consummate valor" in the campaigns of 1792 and 1795. He may have done so in 1792, the campaign of Valmy, though that was, in general, very discreditable to the Prussian arms; but he could not display valor in 1795, for there was no fighting, the negotiations for peace occupying several weeks before the signature of the Treaty of Basel (April 5th, 1795), when Prussia very shabbily deserted her allies. The account (p. 108) of his brave rescue of an Austrian soldier during the siege of Mainz, in 1793, proves how early the martial spirit developed in him; and it is clear, from these pages, that, had the war continued, he might have retrieved the reputation of his country, which then sank to a low ebb. The dissipations of the Court of Berlin, and unwise treatment by his parents,

sufficed, after 1795, to drive this impetuous youth into evil courses, which compromised his future, and perhaps robbed Prussia of a great commander. That timid and pedantic monarch, Frederick William III., certainly feared and envied him.

It is clear from these pages that her parents, Prince Ludwig, and the Princess herself, were the victims of a very faulty education. For instance, her governess deemed it a fit method of instruction to dilate on the defects in the career and character of the princess's mother as a means of warning off the daughter from certain indiscretions. The differences between father and mother were also singularly patent; and it speaks volumes for the good nature of Princess Louise that she passed unscathed through the temptations that beset the courtiers of Frederick William II.

One of the advantages conferred by these memoirs is the light which they throw on the characters of two, at least, of the kings of Prussia, and on certain of their statesmen. In the pages which discreetly refer to the numerous amours of Frederick William II. may be seen signs of that weakness and vacillation which so often compromised the interests of his realm, and led to the great defection of April, 1795. Proofs of his extravagance in money matters might well have been added; but his pursuits of certain beauties of the Court are here portrayed in sufficient detail to enable the reader to gauge their effects in public affairs. The narrative does not clear up the mystery of the death of Fräulein von Voss, "Countess von Ingenheim." The King's insistence on a morganatic marriage, her extreme reluctance to consent, the effort of the sexagenarian Duke of Brunswick to persuade her to sacrifice herself, so that Frederick William might once more have enough peace of mind to devote himself to affairs of State—all this is well set forth. The marriage took place. Soon there appeared signs of extreme jealousy of the new mistress on the part of the King's treasurer, Ritz, whose wife had borne the King a son. The Countess von Ingenheim, after her confinement, believed that Ritz had poisoned her, and expired in great torment. The King showed some reluctance concerning the *post mortem*; and finally there arrived, by Ritz's hand, a royal order that the examination should not extend to the organ supposed to have been affected by poison. Quicklime was also placed in the coffin. Whether Ritz induced the King to take these extraordinary steps, or forged the final orders, will now, it seems, never be known. Fräulein von Voss is here described as far from beautiful, but excelling in mental charm and vivacity.

The King's immediate rupture with another mistress (the Countess von Dönhoff) who, in 1794, had the audacity to seek publicly to induce him to break off the Austrian alliance, shows him not to have been wholly devoid of firmness when subjected to a barefaced political intrigue; but, in general, he must be described, in the words of Mirabeau, as the evil genius of the State. Princess Louise of Prussia describes him as almost fainting with nervous exhaustion, after a prolonged *séance*, in which he held converse with the spirits of departed friends—and mistresses. It would be interesting to know whether, on that occasion, Fräulein von Voss appeared to him. His death, which occurred in November, 1797, was due to premature exhaustion, quite as much as to any specific disease. It rid Prussia of one of the most enervating of modern rulers.

Frederick William III. figures in these pages as the well-meaning but irritating pedant, so well known to readers of the Napoleonic wars. Princess Louise states that, on hearing the news of his father's death, he uttered to his consort (the unhappy Queen Louisa, who died in 1810) these prophetic words: "My time of trial is going to begin, and the peaceful happiness we have enjoyed is now to end." The causes of his misfortunes appear here in miniature. His favorite Minister, Count von Haugwitz (the evil genius of Prussia in 1805), charged Prince Anton Radziwill, husband of Princess Louise, with holding correspondence with a disaffected Pole. The whole charge arose out of the receipt of a single letter, to which Prussian officials chose to assign that character. Haugwitz, neglecting the King's injunctions to have the examination of Radziwill's papers carried out tactfully and privately, enforced the search publicly, and in the most annoying manner. Nothing at all compromising was found; but when Radziwill begged the King to allow him some means of publicly clearing himself, the only

outcome was a weak and somewhat peevish refusal, accompanied by a request that he would forget the incident. The influence of Haugwitz over the King was apparent in every step of the affair, which, however trivial in its inception, is highly significant as a sign of character.

The marriage of Princess Louise with Prince Radziwill came about after several incidents which illustrate the nature of her parents, and the curiously strict etiquette of regarding the union of a Prussian princess with a non-reigning prince as almost a *mésalliance*. The union was one of mutual affection, and proved to be most happy. The princess enjoyed the esteem and confidence of Queen Louisa, interesting details of whose character and career are here given. The conquest of Prussia by Napoleon in 1806 proved to be the beginning of four years of misery for the Queen, and disaster and exhaustion for the nation at large. Prince Ludwig Ferdinand, like all clear-sighted patriots, foresaw the disasters that must result from the craven policy advocated by Haugwitz in 1805, and weakly followed by the King. The results seemed incredible to the princess. She writes of the cowardly surrenders of fortresses—"I could not persuade myself that so much glory won by my ancestors was in an instant brought to naught in so humiliating a fashion." The flight into East Prussia was followed by a lull after the Battle of Eylau, and life at Memel, in the spring of 1807, became a pleasant refuge after the hardships of the winter. The disaster at Friedland dashed the reviving hopes; and it is interesting to learn that the King's Councillor, Beyme, who is generally credited with time-serving motives, was the only one who urged the King to take ship at Memel, and fling himself into Colberg, where Gneisenau was bravely holding out. This advice was not followed; and the outcome was the diplomatic surrender of Tilsit. Kalkreuth and Hardenberg alone advised Queen Louisa to intercede with Napoleon, a step which Princess Louise deplored, as equally futile and compromising. Strange to say, she finds no words of blame for the Czar Alexander, who then abandoned Frederick William III. in a discreditable manner; and her account of Napoleon's interviews with the Queen is less hostile than was to be expected. The version here given of the interview of the two Emperors on a raft on the River Niemen is marred by the use of the phrase, "flying bridge over the Niemen," which misrepresents the original. It was not a flying bridge, but a large raft, on which a pavilion was erected.

In general, the translation is good, and so are the notes of the editress; but we have observed a few mistakes. The partition of Poland, which occurred in 1795, was the third and last, not the second (p. 154, note). The Battles of Jena and Auerstädt were fought on October 14th, not October 15th (p. 235, note). In view of the enlightened "will" left by Frederick William I., it is a mistake to insist (p. 13) on his "boorish ignorance." It is also highly improbable that Napoleon, at Tilsit, ever remarked to Alexander that he felt almost tempted to lay a crown at the feet of the Queen of Prussia. For the most part, however, the narrative is well restrained; and even those who know the period well must derive pleasure and information from the scenes and characters here depicted. There is a general index and a biographical index. The latter is of use in showing the many ramifications of the Radziwills, and other large families.

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"The Fall of Minni." By ALFRED BENELL. (The Century Press. 3s. 6d.)

"Bertrud and Other Dramatic Poems." By LADY MARGARET SACKVILLE. (Edinburgh: Brown. 7s. 6d.)

DRAMATIC poetry runs a considerable risk, in these theoretical days, of being misjudged—of being rebuked for failing to be something it does not want to be. Many people are on the look-out for poetic drama; and their anxiety is

reasonable, for it must surely be clear to anyone who will seriously think on the matter, that what the stage requires more than anything else to-day is just what these hopefuls, but, in the main, disappointed, people are looking for—poetic drama. They do not find much of it; but what they do find, flourishing quite plentifully, is dramatic poetry. Now, dramatic poetry and poetic drama are certainly not the same thing; but they have sufficient resemblance, the one to the other, to make a hasty confusion of their natures, in the mind of the eager searcher, possible and almost excusable. Hence it follows, too often, that dramatic poetry is severely rebuked with such hard names as "mongrel" and "bastard," because it looks, at first glimpse, like poetic drama, and turns out to be something different. But why should not dramatic poetry be what it wants to be? Theory has devised several ingenious but somewhat futile reasons why dramatic poetry ought to be the same as poetic drama, relying mainly on the not very trustworthy assistance of Wagner. If we are to get forward in a discussion, we must allow words to have some precise meaning; and "drama" must mean the kind of composition which is capable of existence on the stage—not necessarily work which only has proper existence when the art of the theatre deals with it, since most great plays may exist equally as things read and as things acted, though the pleasure of reading is differently composed from the pleasure of a stage-performance; but, at any rate, "drama" is work which can convey a certain special form of artistic excitement when it is staged, and only when it is staged.

This being "drama," what "poetic drama" means is tolerably clear. Then what is "dramatic poetry"? Is it something in which poetry preponderates over drama, as, in the other form of work, drama preponderates over poetry? The distinction might serve; but it is clumsy, and, probably, not really truthful. We may allow anything to be called "dramatic" which borrows from drama its principles of composition; but that does not mean that it must also borrow from drama its distinctive and special purpose of stage-performance. "Dramatic poetry" is, then, poetry constructed after the methods of drama; but not so devised as to gain anything from submission to the art of the theatre; usually, indeed, so devised as to make a stage-performance unthinkable. It is intended solely for imaginative performance. And why not? There is no reason, in art or in nature, why such poetry should not be written and enjoyed. Man can read; the faculty is an integral quality of his being; something which is not to be ignored by any candid æsthetic theory, and which poetry may legitimately use to the utmost. It does so use it in dramatic poetry; with no other limits than the limits of imaginative ability, it can evoke the mental performance of any action it pleases. To rebuke this performance because it does not excite us in the same way as a stage-performance is like rebuking a man who plays billiards because he does not play football. Poetic drama is certainly a larger affair than dramatic poetry, since it must necessarily include the nature of the latter. Dramatic poetry, existing simply as such, is a specialised and limited form of poetic drama; but so using its limitation as to obtain, within its boundaries, greater freedom. The subject of Mr. Arthur Hay Storrow's "The Story of the Twelve," is a good instance of the kind of subject which dramatic poetry may admirably employ. To bring before us the Twelve Disciples as vividly living persons, distinctly characterised, with all their doubts, fears, and natural hesitations, their gradual growth in faith through perplexity to certainty—evidently, to do this, a dramatic method was desirable, and even inevitable. Evidently, also, by limiting the treatment entirely to mental performance, much more of the remoter portions of this confused and difficult subject can be captured into poetry, than by allowing also for stage-performance, though, perhaps, at the cost of cogency and impressiveness. But Mr. Storrow is not the man to make the most—or, indeed, anything—of such material and such a method. There are occasional moments of characterisation, never very original or striking, in his book; but through all its monotonous verse, only the faintest flickering gleams of poetry, in the conception, in the form, or in the words, make dubious appearance.

Having, however, offered some theoretic defence of dramatic poetry, it remains to be admitted that, on the

whole, it does not actually provide very exhilarating reading. Dramatic poetry, we have said, flourishes plentifully these days; the fact that it does so is, perhaps, the worst thing that can be said against it. It is terribly liable to profuse, and even weedy, growth. It is so easy to obtain a certain facile formal effectiveness, by throwing substance into some semblance of dramatic shape, that there is a danger of the poet being too readily satisfied with the result. And that this danger is not merely notional, most of the books at the head of this article prove. For dramatic poetry, as for every other kind of poetry, there is one unalterable condition if the work is to achieve real, as well as apparent, success—it is that the poetry must not be a garment or a veneer fastened over a body that is not poetry. The poetry, in the narrow verbal sense, must be the outer display of a poetry that has worked through the whole substance and nature of the thing; it must be poetically conceived, poetically formed, and poetically expressed. Dr. Winslow Hall, in his "Metred Playlets," ignores this condition with a cheerful frankness that is certainly honest, but, nevertheless, hardly to be expected from one who has shown himself an able writer on poetic theory. The little one-act pieces in this book exist in two forms, so the preface modestly informs us—in the present "metred" form for reading, and in the form of prose for acting (they also exist in Esperanto; but that is a piece of good news which does not excite us). Matter which can be thus indifferently expressed in either poetry or prose is not likely to achieve success as dramatic poetry. And we cannot see why there was any attempt to make it achieve that success. Except for one play about a medium, which is mildly interesting, the dramatic invention underlying these "playlets" suggests the mind of a schoolboy when it does not suggest the mind of a schoolgirl; and the poetry which expresses this is simply a jiggling versification.

Mr. Arthur Dillon's "Pelops" and Mr. John Presland's "Marcus Aurelius" are more conscientious. But they both show how strict is the condition which has just been mentioned. Poetry, in these two books, is not mere decorative stuff thrown over a rough, unshaped body. The body of substance has been shaped; but not in the right spirit. Both poets have borrowed form from well-known types of drama, and imposed it on their material. But that is to evade the condition, not to fulfil it; not by a recognisable imposition of form is that completely poetic organisation achieved which dramatic poetry requires. Form must be a necessary and vital expression of the inmost primary conception, as suitable and as inevitable an expression as the outer envelope of verbal poetry. It must be a natural growth from within, not an imposition from without. And it can only be a natural growth, an artistically necessary expressiveness, when the material has been re-created in the poet's brain, when it has, for him, acquired a new life of individual significance, vitally fashioning itself forth into poetic form and poetic language. This is not what has happened, in these two poems, to the legend of Pelops and the history of Marcus Aurelius. Mr. Dillon's tetralogy is a scrupulous imitation of Greek dramatic form—three tragedies and a satyric play. But Mr. Dillon has not imitated the essential thing in Greek drama. Would any Athenian dramatist have used the legend of Pelops as Mr. Dillon uses it—merely, that is, because it is a legend? It is perhaps true that his work, as he claims, "sets forth the founding of the Olympian Games, and of the Cult of the Hero Pelops." Would such an archaeological motive have satisfied a Greek dramatist? What was wanted, and what did not occur, is that the tale of Pelops should have been, for Mr. Dillon, intensely significant; only that could have made it live in his mind. It is the same with Mr. John Presland's book. The history of Marcus Aurelius has been used by him simply because it is history; it has had no individual and vitalising significance for him. Instead of acquiring new life in Mr. Presland's hands, the history is merely galvanised into performing the old trick of the compromising letters, written by the faithless wife to her lover, and discovered by the noble husband, who refuses to read them. The form, of four acts and seven scenes scattered about the Roman World, is quite tolerably managed; but the whole thing is dead—as dead as Mr. Dillon's "Pelops." Poetry will not live if the core of it is dead; and, in spite of some technical skill (especially in Mr. Dillon's book) in inventing and arranging the poetical drapery, the books

never induce us to believe that there is a living spirit within their shapes. They are, in fact, insignificant.

The material of Mr. Alfred Benell's "The Fall of Minni" does certainly seem to have acquired in his mind a peculiar significance; and the result is a certain feverish vitality, whose effect on the language of the characters is cunningly assisted by the continual use of commas for full-stops. The play deals with affairs of the Turkish Empire during the fourteenth century. Armenians (as usual) are being massacred, and the Christian King of Syria, in consequence, forms an alliance with Tamerlane to attack Bajazet, Emperor of the Turks. A Moslem diplomatist endeavors to break off the alliance. This seems simple enough; but when we find this fourteenth-century Moslem apostrophising "noble, noble Britain" as "that glorious Empire," "staunch defence of an Alien friendless," "protector of the weak and helpless—How Islam loves thee!"—when, further, this same fourteenth-century Moslem backs up his argument for solidarity between Syria and Turkey with these words:—

"You decline the olive—the evergreen
That arch the waters of the Western stream,
The Christian's *entente cordiale*?"

we begin to suspect that there is some sort of a hidden significance lurking somewhere. It seems to refer to English policy in the Near East, with a touch of Pan-Islamism; and possibly, also, it suggests a coming union of Islam and Buddhism; for, in the moment of his triumph, our Moslem diplomatist exclaims, "Nirvana! Praise God—Nirvana!" This startling remark is not, we are persuaded, merely an oath; we look for the sequel, which is "in active preparation," to exhibit its true significance; and we shall then, let us hope, learn also whether the Turks are really "loathsome bacilli," who breathe "with leprous lungs," or are, on the contrary, the destined saviors of Asia from Christian aggression; and, further, how Tamerlane comes into this symbolic drama.

Fire, swiftness, a sudden and vivid revelation of essential passion, a close fitting of manner to matter, are things which admirably appear in Lady Margaret Sackville's book of five dramatic poems. There is no need for theoretical justification of dramatic poetry when the practice of it is in this style; for the book has eminently the first of all necessary qualities: it is interesting. Its author allows her poetry to expatiate far more than would be possible in a stage-play—to go on curious errands for delicate imagery and subtle psychology. This, of course, is only to take full advantage of the kind of composition she has chosen, to make as much as she can of the possibilities of mental performance. But the freedom which Lady Margaret Sackville gives to her poetry is not won at the expense of form. This is dramatic poetry in which the thorough poetic organisation of substance and nature is not to be mistaken. The growth has throughout been from within outwards—from an inmost core of strongly felt significance to an outer embodiment of inevitable shapeliness and vital language; indeed, it is poetry of which one may say (and it is a thing which cannot be said of very much modern poetry) that "soul is form and doth the body make." The growth has sometimes been vehement. The metre is inclined to be disconcertingly daring; and the diction is sometimes capable of such hasty bathos as the last line but one in this otherwise fine passage:—

"Forget all else
Save only this one thing—that we for ever,
Alone and indivisible, shall hear
Time splinter up beneath God's stroke, and yet
Being so much absorbed in one another,
Scarce turn our heads."

It is even capable of bad grammar, as here:—

"but they have slain thee, and I alone—
I alone have they slain not."

But, in general, the "vivida vis," both of language and of metre, is finely controlled. We like her imagery best when it is of this simple kind:—

"I am woman—flesh,
Mortal and incomplete, wrought to endure
One life; to break at last under the weight
Of natural days, soft falling, as a pine
Grown old through many seasons yields at last
Beneath its burden of impalpable snow."

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ment of the god, has an excellent effect. The blank-verse frequently has the strange and unexpected melody which one finds in Webster—the kind of melody which seems to bewilder a good many critics nowadays. Lady Margaret Sackville is fond of a beautiful variant in trochaic or falling rhythm, of this type:—

“Backward borne on the ribbed plain of the tide;”
(where “ribbed,” we hope, is a monosyllable). To use this variant well, as she uses it, means not only courage; but insight into the true nature of blank-verse. There is something of Webster, too, in her psychology; in the burning, blind fury of Philomela in “Tereus,” and in the statuesque contempt for human weakness of “Bertrud.” These are the two best pieces in the book; but the more lyrical poems about Dionysus and Ganymede have some exquisite beauty; and a genuine dramatic quality is never absent from the book’s pages.

IRELAND UNDER THE UNION.

“The Beginnings of Modern Ireland.” By PHILIP WILSON. (Munnell. 12s. 6d. net.)

THIS is a scholarly book, written with much care and ability. The period covered extends from the opening years of the sixteenth century to the accession of Queen Elizabeth; and we are glad to learn that another volume is in preparation, which will bring the story down to the end of the Tudor period. Mr. Wilson is right in designating this period as the beginnings of modern Ireland. Mr. Richey, no doubt, practically puts the date later: thus he says, in effect, that the plantation of Ulster led to the Rebellion of 1641, that the Rebellion of 1641 led to the Cromwellian confiscations, that the Cromwellian confiscations led, so far as Ireland was concerned, to the “Jacobite” war so called, that the “Jacobite” war led to the Williamite confiscation, and that all these Acts of public plunder led to the fight for the land, which had so much to do in the making of modern Ireland. But then, the plantation of Ulster itself sprang out of the Elizabethan wars. So that, after all, we get back to the date fixed by Mr. Wilson. Then, it was during the Tudor period that the new religion was introduced, laying the foundation of the sectarian feuds of our own day. It was the destruction of the clan system by the Tudors also which vitalised the spirit of nationality.

Englishmen, as a rule, know little of the current of events in Ireland from the landing of the first Norman to the introduction of the latest Home Rule Bill; and even Irishmen sometimes speak of English rule “during the past 700 years,” as if England held Ireland tightly in her grip all that time. What English rule in Ireland meant, and in what it ended, from the coming of the Normans to the accession of the Tudors, Mr. Wilson tells with clearness and force in the chapter on “The Lordship of Ireland.” When Henry VII. ascended the English throne, English rule was confined to the so-called “Pale,” that is to say, to the County Louth, half the County Dublin, half the County Meath, and half the County Kildare. The rest of Ireland was governed by Irish Chiefs or Norman Barons, who had become more Irish than the Irish themselves. “We are English to the Irish,” said the first of the Geraldine settlers, “but Irish to the English.” In the centuries which followed, it may fairly be said that the Geraldines became wholly “Irish to the English.” Desmond, as Mr. Wilson says, was a veritable king, so was Kildare; Ormond, too, was an important potentate. The walled towns were “republics,” choosing their own rulers, and repudiating the jurisdiction of Norman Baron and Irish Chief, and the Government of Dublin Castle as well. All was confusion. Mr. Lecky has stated the case with characteristic conclusiveness:—

“The English rule as a living reality was confined and concentrated in the narrow limits of the Pale. The hostile power, planted in the heart of the nation, destroyed all possibility of central government, while it was itself incapable of fulfilling that function. Like a spear-point embedded in a living body, it inflamed all around it, and deranged every vital function. It prevented the gradual reduction of the island by some native Clovis, which would necessarily have taken place if the Anglo-Normans had not arrived; and, instead of that peaceful and almost silent amalgamation of races, customs, laws, and languages which took place in England, and which is the source of many of the best elements in English life and character, the two nations remained, in Ireland, for centuries in hostility.”

Mr. Wilson makes it clear, we think, in his excellent chapter on the Geraldine revolt, that Thomas, Lord Offaly, would have taken the place of the “native Clovis” in the reign of Henry VIII. but for the fatal influence of England, which was able to divide, but not to govern. Sir John Davis describes the situation with perfect accuracy. He says:—

“It is manifest that such as had the government of Ireland under the Crown of England did intend to make perpetual separations and enmity between the English (Anglo-Normans) and Irish; pretending, no doubt, that the English should, in the end, root out the Irish, which the English, not being able to do, did cause perpetual war between the nations.”

Henry VII. showed the wisdom of statesmanship when, on being told that all Ireland could not govern the Earl of Kildare, replied: “Then let the Earl of Kildare govern all Ireland.” The present writer once mentioned this fact to Cardinal Manning. The Cardinal shook his finger characteristically, and said: “Very wise, very wise.” What did the words of Henry VII. practically mean? Simply this, that a man who possessed the confidence of the Irish people, who respected Irish laws and customs, feelings and prejudices, should conduct the government of Ireland under the authority of the English crown. But the policy of Henry VII. was not carried out by his successors. The shifting policy of England and the “absolute uncertainty of knowing what will be done next” have been the curse of Ireland, no matter from what point of view we may regard the Irish question. The story is told of how some citizen of a South American republic would put his head out of the window in the morning, and ask, “Who is President now?” The Irishman, under English rule, might well put his head out of the window, and ask: “What is the policy of the English Government now?” Conciliation at one time, coercion at another; the despatch of a Lord Lieutenant to-day, with a message of peace, and the despatch of another to-morrow, with a message of war—these have been the characteristics of English statesmanship all the time.

In 1541 the Irish Chiefs submitted to Henry VIII. Ireland was at his feet. What did he do with her? There were, so to say, three courses open to him.

(1) To adopt, in modern phraseology, the policy of “Home Rule,” to leave untouched the laws and customs, the language, manners, dress of the Irish people, contenting himself with their acknowledgment of him as king of the country. In other words, to allow the Irish to manage their own affairs in their own way, subject to having a common king with England.

(2) To adopt a policy of extermination and confiscation, to root out the Irish race, or reduce them to a state of abject servitude, pouring in English settlers to take possession of their lands.

(3) To allow the Irish people to remain in their own country and in possession of their property, but to anglicise them; to abolish Irish laws and customs, the Irish language, Irish dress, and manners. In fact, to run the country in all things on English lines.

It was the third of these courses which Henry adopted. He believed that by winning the Irish chiefs and anglicising them, he would win and anglicise the people. He did, for the time being, win the chiefs. They acknowledged him as King of Ireland and head of the Irish Church. They took English titles; they accepted the English land system. Instead of chiefs of clans, in theory they became landlords, and the clansmen became tenants. So far there was theoretical acquiescence in Henry’s policy. But it really did not take root. For instance, in the case of religion, there was no doctrinal change in Henry’s time. The chiefs acknowledged his spiritual supremacy, and so did a packed Parliament, and so did some of the bishops. But the masses of the people probably never heard of Henry’s supremacy, and throughout his reign the Catholic religion was practised just the same as ever. Despite the prohibition of Irish laws, the Brehon laws were still in force, as Mr. Wilson reminds us, in certain districts at all events, and even State appointments were given to Irishmen who spoke the Irish language and used the Irish dress. Though the feudal system was established by law, instead of the tribal system, the hardships of the former system were not felt during the seven years which followed the submission of the Irish

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chiefs. During that time Ireland was more peaceful than she had been at any period since the Norman invasion. Mr. Wilson ascribes this period of peace to the conciliatory policy of the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger (1540-1547). Sir Anthony did nothing to exasperate the people, and he winked at the evasion of the anglicising Acts of Parliament. There was, of course, an anti-Irish Party in Ireland then, as always, and they plotted, planned, and intrigued against St. Leger; but he was able to secure the support of Henry, and so held his ground, and maintained his policy. It was St. Leger, as Mr. Wilson tells us, who, despite Acts of Parliament, appointed to office Irishmen who spoke the Irish language and wore the Irish dress. Henry did not like this; but he acquiesced in the policy. Pressure was put upon Henry by the anti-Irish Party to adopt a policy of extermination and confiscation; but he steadfastly refused to do so. Irish popular historical writers, in the main, give him credit for this; but Mr. Wilson seems to think that Henry would have carried out such a policy if it appeared to him feasible, and that he was deterred from so doing rather by common-sense than by a sense of justice or humanity. When Henry died there was a change of policy. Sir Anthony St. Leger was succeeded by Sir Edward Bellingham, who adopted a policy of coercion. Ireland was thrown into the hands of the anti-Irish Party. The policy of confiscation and of religious persecution ultimately followed, and the foundation of modern Ireland was at once laid.

Mr. Wilson has a thorough grip of his subject; he writes in a spirit of perfect impartiality; his style is lucid, graceful and vigorous; and he shows keen political insight as well as sound historical knowledge.

ON TRAMP IN THE EAST.

"A Tramp's Sketches." By STEPHEN GRAHAM. (Macmillan. 5s. net.)

FROM time to time, as we were reading this singular book, we could not help picturing to ourselves an incongruous scene. Turning from these wild shores of the Black Sea, we seemed to see a young man with an eager face declaiming at a London debating society; he was exhorting his friends to live the simple life; he was shouting "Yes" to the Universe, in Nietzschean tones, before a solemn, long-haired audience; he was quoting Browning and Bernard Shaw in a single breath; he was rhythmically and quite ridiculously eloquent as he declared that the simple virtues of barbarism were far superior to the complex qualities of civilisation. He was a man of words, crudely sophisticated, picturesque in a pseudo-aesthetic way. It was impossible to believe that he meant anything at all when he declared: "Hospitality of the hand is having a home with open doors, but that of the mind is having open the temple of the soul." He seemed born to talk in debating societies, and to live his life within the four-mile radius.

This is a purely imaginary picture. But we feel that Mr. Graham might have been a young man of this sort, who lived to stultify our ungenerous criticism, to prove even that eager, crude talk need indicate nothing worse than a failure to measure the effect of words. Here is this talker translated to the savage shores of Pontus. Here he is doing all that he might have promised, and more, in that stuffy little room, sleeping by night in caves, under bridges, in a barn, or stretched at length under the open sky; living upon crab-apples, wild grapes, and walnuts; hobnobbing with Russian peasants, when the storm comes down with lightning and flood; sleeping on a bare form in a Turkish coffee-house, among a crowd of ragged Mohammedans; walking on from day to day, living the real life of the tramp, completing at the last the journey to Jerusalem in the procession of Russian pilgrims—but ceasing not to declaim, to exhort, to debate the advantages of the simple life in the manner of the quasi-cultured Londoner.

It is, of course, disappointing that there should be so much of this jargon. It was not necessary to go to the Crimea, to the Caucasus, to the bazaars of Batum, or the shrines of Jerusalem to learn what might have been learnt on Wimbledon Common. Nevertheless this very quality in the author has an interest of its own. If it deprives his tramp narrative of the literary quality which attaches to

Mr. Davies's work, it astonishes, as a strange, scarcely credible, kind of *naïveté*; there is a dramatic interest in the mere spectacle of this kind of thing surviving through months of vagabondage along the wild coasts of the Black Sea.

It has happened. And it is impossible not to feel that Mr. Graham is absolutely sincere in what sounds so much like vamping. When he tells us that he found himself "growing wilder" with the wild life around him, we believe him. "All my days from dawn to sunset I hunted for food. My life was food-hunting. I certainly wrote not a line, and thought less. In my mind I formed only such elementary ideas as 'Soon more grapes,' 'These berries are not the best,' 'More walnuts,' 'Oh, a spring; I must drink there.'" And it is significant that he remembers most vividly the nights spent in the open air, surrounded by the forest, or within a stone's throw of the sea. "What a glorious bright picture-book, a book telling almost entirely of the doings of the moon." His story would have been far better if he had told us less of his feelings, if he had dwelt less on his philosophical and emotional states of mind, and had given us a more exact account of the country, the villages, and the peasants.

For when he is content to describe places, events, or persons, without passing on them long comments of his own, his writing is admirable. We have a pleasing account of the family at Ghilendzhik, peasants by origin, and theosophists by religion, who had made money by accident, and were in the process of losing it by clumsiness. He is drinking rose-colored wine with some hospitable Russians in a village, when "one of us signalled to a rather morose Akhbasian prince who was passing, but he took no notice. 'He will not drink wine with us,' said my friend, 'his wife is so beautiful.'" When our author, in the English fashion, insists on an explanation, his companion refuses to be commonplace. "He is like a dog who growls when he has suddenly got something very good in his mouth; he fears any familiarity on the part of other dogs."

It is, after all, the human element which is generally the most interesting part of a book such as this. The author has given us some faint impression of the Black Sea and the longshore, some slight account of the forests, steppes, and mountains. He has scarcely made us feel the atmosphere of the "wild"; but he has given us some sense of the great untidy bazaar of Batum, of the reckless inhabitants of a small watering-place, of the tramps and pilgrims whom he meets by the way, of the men who talk in the coffee-houses. He was spending a night in a Turkish coffee-house, where he entered into conversation about the Turco-Italian War:—

"How goes the war?" I asked. "Is Italy losing?"

"Of course she is losing," he replied, lying sullenly; "and she must lose."

"But she has taken Tripoli and guards it with her navy. How can she lose?"

"The other Powers will make her disgorge it, or we will commence an endless hostility, not only against Italy and Italian trade, but against all whom we tolerate—the Western Christians."

On another occasion a Turk and a Greek express their national animosities. The Greek exclaims:—

"There's a people, these Turks, stupid, stupid as sheep; all they need are horns . . . and illiterate! When will that people wake up, eh?"

"The Turks and the Greeks never cease to spit at one another, though the former can afford to feel dignified, victors of their wars with Greece. For the Italian the ordinary Turk has almost as much contempt as for the Greek. One said to me, as I thought, quite cleverly:—

"A Greek is half an Italian, and the Italian is half a Frenchman, the Frenchman is half an Englishman, and you, my friend, are half a German. We have some respect for a German, for he is equal to a score of Greeks, a dozen Italians, or six Frenchmen, but we have no respect at all for the rest."

Mr. Graham gives an admirable account of a Russian monastery which he visited—one of those rare Russian monasteries, famous neither for its wealth nor its relics, but for its good deeds and Christian charity. A chapter entitled "The Story of Zenobia" is scarcely intelligible; it has no apparent relevance to anything else in the book. This very foolish chapter is followed by a delightful meeting, in a cave, with a man who had become a tramp after losing his memory, for whom conscious life had begun suddenly and inexplicably at a moment when he found himself

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"getting into a coach in a white mist." "At the startled moment when my conscious life began, it appeared to me that I had never been anywhere in my life but sitting in the coach." These two, the author and the man with the forgotten childhood, hob-nob together in the cave, cooking food, sitting on the rocks, writing songs, singing them, and telling of the "beauteous women" they had met.

The final chapters, describing the pilgrim's voyage in a filthy ship, and the arrival at Jerusalem, are so slightly sketched that we are led to imagine Mr. Graham is reserving this part of his narrative for another book. Indeed, he confesses that he proposes to write in more detail the story of the places he visited and the people he met. We think that he has made a mistake in making two books out of his interesting experiences; in dividing, as he has done, his "vision" of life from the life which he saw. The former was intended primarily as the subject of the present volume; it is because he has given much of the latter that the book is, to that extent, a success. The fuller book will be of exceptional interest; for Mr. Graham has succeeded as few travellers succeed, in living the life of the people among whom he moved.

THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE.

"Godoy: The Queen's Favorite." By EDMUND B. D'AUVERGNE. (Stanley Paul. 16s. net.)

In all the mass of literature dealing with the period of the French Revolution and the First Empire, it is rare to come across a work that is not strongly colored by the partisan view, either from the French or English standpoint. This "Life" of the Prince of the Peace has a special interest, in so much as it gives the purely Spanish outlook on the politics of the day. It is a pity, in the interest of the serious student of history, that no attempt has been made to give references to authorities, nor even to give a table of dates at the heading of the chapters, and that there is not a good index. In fact, from the way in which the work is done, it would appear to be intended for the general reader only, and the pages are enlivened by anecdotes and imaginary conversations not always quite in the right key, as when, in an interview between Beauharnais and Escoiquiz, the latter is made to say: "Mind, Ferdinand's the friend—not Godoy!"

The story of the rise of the favorite, Godoy, from a simple private in the body-guard of the King of Spain to the position of Prime Minister and ruler of the destinies of his country, is told picturesquely enough. One of the best things about the narrative is the vivid account that is given of the Spanish Court at the close of the eighteenth century. Charles IV. was a typical Bourbon, but not of the worst type. He might have made a respectable member of the lower middle class, where his personal sense of honor and his simple and just temperament might have won respect from his fellow-workers, and where his cruelty in sport would have had no scope. But his inability to take a wide survey, and his very scrupulousness, made him unfit to be a king in a time when he was pitted against the most crafty and unscrupulous ruler that Europe has known.

The most surprising thing about Godoy's career is the way in which he kept the confidence and friendship of Charles through so many years. Maria Luisa, his wife, was notoriously fickle. She had had a long succession of lovers in the twenty-two years before she gave her affections to Godoy. But in his case it was really affection as much as passion that dominated their relations; and, though there were interludes and rivals through the eighteen years that followed, there is no doubt that it was the one love-episode in her life in which the Queen remained constant and loyal. The fact of her husband's affection for, and belief in, her lover may have influenced this extraordinary woman, for there is no doubt that she also, in her way, was loving and loyal towards her husband.

The influence of Spain on European history during the Revolution, and after the Reign of Terror, was due to the passive force of a stupid and obstinate, but loyal, monarch. There can be little doubt that the young Prime Minister was at once more clear-headed and less scrupulous. He was single-minded in his devotion to his King and his country, and he strained every nerve to make up by strategy and

cunning what was lacking in power. Over and over again he was baffled by the simplicity of Charles. It was the King's determination to stand by the fallen monarchy in France that prevented a treaty being made with the Republic. This devotion may even have had a sinister influence on the fate of Louis XVII. Mr. d'Auvergne does not touch upon this point, but a passage in Lord Acton's "Lectures on the French Revolution" is suggestive. He points out that Spain refused to sign and ratify the treaty as long as the Dauphin was detained in prison. "The gaoler had asked the Committee what their intention was. 'Do you mean to banish him?' 'No.' 'To kill him?' 'No.' 'Then,' with an oath, 'what is it you want?' 'To get rid of him.'" Soon after this the young captive became seriously ill. At first, no notice was taken; but at last a capable physician was sent to him. He reported that nothing could save him but country air. He added, "He is lost; but perhaps there are some who will not be sorry." The Spanish Treaty was absolutely necessary, and Louis XVII. alone stood in the way. Three days later he was still living; but the doctor was dead, and a dark legend grew up that he had been poisoned. A month later the death of the Dauphin was announced, and peace was signed with Spain.

Mr. d'Auvergne quotes Napoleon as having said of Godoy that he was a man of genius, and certainly nothing less than genius could have withstood for so long the encroaching power of France, under the First Consul, with the wretched material at his command. The most interesting part of the narrative of Godoy's ministry is that dealing with his negotiations with the envoys of Napoleon. He used the formalities and etiquette of the Spanish Court as a means for delay in replying to awkward demands. More than once an explosion was averted by this means. There is a dramatic account of how Charles, acting on Godoy's advice, received Beurnonville when he came to present an autograph letter of Napoleon's, demanding, in violent terms, the dismissal of Godoy, and the instant acceptance of the terms of his ultimatum. The King and Queen were surrounded by their Court, and the Ambassador was presented with the utmost ceremony:—

"Charles smiled blandly, and took the letter without glancing at it. 'Tell the First Consul,' he said, 'that I esteem as much as I like him, and that I am much more attached to France than to England, and will do all that I can. I will tax my subjects, my clergy; I will tax myself; but I will not consent to the dismissal of Manuel, for no one can object to my liking for a man who acts properly, and whose society is necessary to me. I accept, therefore, the Consul's letter, but I shall not open it, as Ayara has this negotiation in hand.' . . . Poor Beurnonville was reduced to impotence by the serenity of the atmosphere. . . . He found himself dismissed, and bowed himself out."

This adroitness on the part of Godoy could do no more than put off the evil day. Even if Charles had been strong enough to profit by his Minister's cleverness, the intrigues of Ferdinand would have been a source of danger. The fate of Spain was a foregone conclusion, and the downfall of the Prince of the Peace was coincident with the downfall of the Royal House of Spain and the subjugation of the people.

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his learning, he is never encumbered by the mass of his facts. His words are not for the specialist only, and into whatever bones he digs up he breathes the spirit of life.

By its title and to some extent by its subjects, the present volume provokes comparison with the "Companion to Latin Studies," the work of some two dozen authorities, which may be said for the last two years to have held the field. That is a book of wider scope, designed to cover the whole area of Latin literature. Some of its themes are beyond the range of history. Thus Mr. Jones would have travelled beyond his record if he had given us anything parallel to Sir William Thiselton-Dyer's account of the flora of ancient Italy, or the late Dr. Verrall's brilliant sketch of Latin poetry. On the other hand, all the subjects with which Mr. Jones deals, war, architecture, religion, amusements, and the like, have their place in the earlier volume, though some of them are treated by Mr. Jones in greater detail. It may, perhaps, be allowed us to regret that he has deliberately excluded such subjects as cannot be well illustrated from material remains. Further, there seems to be some disproportion shown in his assigning about a third of his work to architecture, and no more than a seventh to a theme so essentially Roman as the art of war.

On the other hand, it must be said that there is nothing superfluous in his chapter on architecture, and little lacking on his chapter on war. To what he has to say on war, Mr. Jones assigns about as much space as the subject occupies in the "Companion to Latin Studies." On a comparison of merits, we do not see that either here or elsewhere Mr. Jones has anything to fear. Two instances may be given. Mr. Jones explains the *groma* and the method of using it, and gives the names of its different parts. The rival authority tells us no more of it than that, for the construction of a camp, a tribune "went in front with a contrivance called a *groma*," a bald statement which in itself can hardly be of any help. Again, the writer on the catapult in the "Companion to Latin Studies," relies upon the authority of Rüstow and Köchly, and gives an enlargement of their figure of this engine of war. Now their work is sixty years old, and entirely out of date. We do not know whether an engine could actually be constructed from their description and figures, and, even if it could, there seems to be no proof that such a machine would be able to discharge missiles with the force of the Roman catapult. The writer seems not to have been aware that some eight years ago Colonel Schramm, of the German Army, working on the description given by Vitruvius, actually constructed a catapult which sent an arrow of nearly a yard's length flying over a space of more than a thousand yards. A figure of this instrument is given in the present work. We are far from wishing to imply that the "Companion to Latin Studies" is other than an accurate and learned work, but our instance will show how completely Mr. Jones is "up to date." If he errs at all it is on matters of little moment, as when he seems to give two inconsistent accounts of the human remains found with the wonderful pieces of plate in the buried farmhouse at Bosco Reale. There is one small matter on which many readers will be grateful to Mr. Jones. With all his learning he has no trace of the pedant. When the letter *v* is consonantal he follows the advice of Mr. Weller and "puts it down a wee." We are thus spared the grotesque correctness of such a form as *provincia*, in the middle of an English sentence.

It must regretfully be added that some of the numerous illustrations are not very well reproduced, and in many cases the print on the obverse of the page is seen through the paper. On the other hand, the maps with one exception seem excellent. A plan of ancient Rome should surely be of some definite date. The map in this volume gives the old wall, of which large parts had disappeared before the time of Augustus, and the baths of Diocletian, which date from the third century.

YORK IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

"York Memorandum Book, Vol. I." (Surtees Society. 25s. net to Non-Subscribers.

THE York municipal authorities were not likely to find a more careful editor than Miss Maud Sellers for this valuable medieval record; and the Council of the Surtees Society was

well advised to take up its publication. The present volume contains about half the text of the Memorandum Book. It directly covers the half-century from 1376 onwards, and incidentally enregisters a few earlier documents. The text justifies the Editor's claim that "in form, matter, and date, the volume corresponds very closely with 'Letter-Book H.' of the City of London, which is considered one of the most important contributions to civic constitutional history that has appeared during the last fifty years." Its miscellaneous character—the unexpected way in which it jerks us from the custody of St. Mary's Abbey to police regulations for vagrant pigs or unlicensed middens, and thence again to the craft regulations of painters, stainers, and goldbeaters—adds both to its human interest and to its historical value. Miss Sellers has not lost sight of either side. Her very readable introduction focuses these scattered side-lights on home life in York five centuries ago, and deals more exhaustively with the constitutional questions raised by the "Mayor's Memorandum Book." Her analysis of the evidence as to the part played in town politics by the Twelve, the Twenty-Four, the Forty-Eight, and their relation to the Commonalty, is a valuable contribution to the history of medieval municipal government; the indexes are on a generous scale; and the glossary is unusually full and helpful, though we miss *plasterers* from the first, and *thwiting* from the last. Lastly, Miss Sellers has translated as many of the documents as the space would permit.

One great interest of the book is the side-light it throws upon a growing tendency to capitalism and division of labor during this period, in spite of gild regulations. In conjunction with contemporary records from other cities, it provides much food for thought to anyone who has read and marked Durkheim's "Division du Travail Social." The Bowyers' Gild (199) ordains that "each journeyman called *taskeman* shall do all manner of work called *taskework*, pertaining to the said craft, willingly and without murmuring." He is to "chip" (i.e., rough-hew) a hundred bow-staves for 16d., or horn them for 6d., or bore one thousand horns for 15d. The journeyman-cordwainer has been murmuring also (193); it is therefore decreed that he shall fit twelve pairs of *over leders* for 1½d., and twelve pairs of soles for 1d.; "form and try" twelve pairs of shoes for 1½d.; and so on through a long and extremely illuminating list. It is pretty evident that the operations, which are thus calculated by wholesale, were frequently also done in the gross; and, though, of course, no journeyman could pass master without qualifying in all these separate branches, yet it is probable that many found their actual daily work far more mechanical and monotonous than certain writers on medieval labor have assumed. Equally illuminating is a paragraph on p. 49, which we must translate in full:—

"Item, [we decree] that a certain evil abuse which hath grown up within the aforesaid craft [of gloves] be abolished and totally relinquished from henceforth—viz., whereas it hath been used among the master-glovers that, when one had a good and useful servingman, his rival would hire that servingman aforesaid at a double wage, and would retain him with a plenteous hanel out of hand, through hatred and envy of that his master aforesaid, within the covenanted term of service—no man henceforth, we say, shall hire another man's servant under such conditions."

We had marked many other quotations of special interest, but these must suffice. All students of medieval town-life have reason to be grateful to the Surtees Society and to Miss Sellers.

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They are responsible for a considerable element of parasitic casual labor, which Miss Butler might have elaborated more to advantage. There are, again, very few local industries. Customers for the building trades are fairly regular in term, and the municipal authorities are not lax in providing more numerous and more sanitary houses. Tailoring and catering have their seasonal crises; but the printing works furnish the largest employment (6,000 men). But what differentiates Oxford from other cities, and simplifies its immediate problems, is the absence of discontent. There is practically no ferment among the working classes, and, for the present, no acute and salient reasons for it. Wages are, indeed, universally low, particularly among the women wage-earners; but employment is moderately constant, and labor conditions more or less equitable. The relations between men and masters are unusually cordial, and trade unionism, partly for these reasons and partly because of the traditional conservatism of the city, makes but little headway. The wheels of local government grind slowly and exceeding small; but their work is competently and thoroughly done, in spite of a lamentable dislike for experiment and initiative. The casual, for instance, has a happy hunting-ground in Oxford, and the methods of coping with him are confused and desultory. It is curious that the rise in the cost of living (since 1898, wholesale prices have gone up 17 per cent., and retail food prices 9 per cent., in the country as a whole) has so little electrified the wage-earning population into agitating for better pay. But the local characteristics of Oxford act as breakwaters against unemployment, which is not, of course, totally immune from cyclical and, more prominently, seasonal waves of depression. Miss Butler supplies us with copious statistics on housing, in which branch of social economics the urgency for coherent, organised municipal schemes is as insistent as it is neglected, and on temperance, the corner-stone of reformist difficulties. Drinking has largely diminished in Oxford, as elsewhere, in consequence of the amelioration of working-class conditions of living, and in 1911 there were only 111 convictions for drunkenness. But Miss Butler does not mention that the police are scandalously negligent in this respect, and Oxford still retains its merited notoriety for intemperance.

Perhaps her most interesting chapters concern education, distress-relief, and thrift. In the case of the elementary schools, the leaving age is fourteen, and, in practice, frequently thirteen. Up to that age, the State and the municipality have zealously watched and conducted nearly every step in the child's career. After that, their solicitude abruptly ceases at a highly critical stage, when the young faculties are waking into consciousness. The result of this line of demarcation between municipal interest and indifference is too often a perceptible deterioration on the part of the child. This central problem of the age-limit will, it is to be hoped, in the future be a spur towards the extension of municipal activities. Miss Butler's illuminating study of relief measures and the economy of the poor discloses again one highly significant fact. We are guided through a labyrinth of social aid, common to every class. For thrift there are the friendly societies, trades union benefit societies, insurance societies, slate clubs, charity and denominational agencies of every variety. For the alleviation of distress there is the same multiple effort. Duplication of resources, waste, and profitless confusion are often the outcome. The Charity Organisation Society and the National Union of Women Workers do, indeed, partially realise the futility of this multiplication of endeavor, and have attempted to obviate it; the one by a system of card-registration among the different organisations, the other by federation. But what is needed is a keener sense of constructive purpose and common responsibility.

GREEK AND JEW.

"Les Grecs et les Sémites dans l'Histoire de l'Humanité."
Par Ph. HAUSER. (Paris: A. Maloine. 12 fr.)

M. HAUSER's treatise follows, in unwitting contrast, closely on the heels of Dr. Maurice Fishberg's "Jews: a Study of Race and Environment," the thesis of which is denial of a pure-blooded Jewish race in any part of the world. The numerous photographs which that book contains show a variety of type in which little hitherto regarded as dis-

tinctively Jewish is traceable, even the characteristic nose being absent in eighty-five per cent. of the examples. It seems clear that, as with other peoples, there has been intermixture, while environment has also to be reckoned with as a modifying factor. At the same time, these have not been operative to any marked extent against the power of a racial tradition, strengthened by that belief in a divinely-appointed place and mission, which has made the Jew, at least spiritually, a member in a community rather than a member of it. Untroubled by questions of miscegenation, M. Hauser, whom we assume to be one of the chosen people, advances to the collection of evidence in support of the dominant part played by Greek and Jew in the development of human thought.

To restate this is as the bringing of "owls to Athens," and the merits of this closely-printed volume of five hundred pages lie more in the arrangement than in the novelty of the materials. The history of humanity is divided into seven stages, the Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, Jewish (before and after the captivity), the Arabic, the Renaissance, and the French Revolution. But M. Hauser travels outside the title of his book in pre-facing the chapters summarising these stages with an extended survey of man in prehistoric times, while the story is brought up to date, so as to cover the details of the "Contribution des Juifs au mouvement intellectuel, politique, économique, et social, pendant le XIX^e siècle," whereby the names of Karl Marx and Professor Bergson are included among those whose aim and ideal is the realisation of the dream, "D'Isaïe: De leurs glaives, les peuples forgeront des hoyaux, et de leurs lances ils feront des serpes; une nation ne tirera plus l'épée contra une autre, et l'on n'apprendra plus la guerre." Of the many names, filling sixty pages, it is curious to note that only three are drawn from England, Sir Francis Palgrave, Benjamin Disraeli, and Israel Zangwill; while concerning a large number, M. Hauser must reckon with Dr. Fishberg as to their unpolluted Jewish blood, the like being applicable to the four great ones whom M. Hauser selects as epoch-makers, Moses, Jesus Christ, Spinoza, and Karl Marx. Even of Jesus Himself, Dr. Haupt, in a paper on the "Ethnology of Galilee," read at the Oxford Congress of Religions (1908), says, "It is by no means certain that Jesus of Nazareth and His disciples were Jews by race," a statement supported by the present Dean of St. Paul's, who says, in his "Parting of the Roads," that "the Galileans had probably hardly a drop of Jewish blood in their veins."

The substance of this work appeared in the "Nouvelle Revue," 1908-9, and it lacks evidence that even then M. Hauser had not realised the importance of the discoveries in Crete, whereby theories of the origin and diffusion of civilisation in the Mediterranean basin are being revolutionised. They are not referred to in the section on Greek culture. The statement that the early Egyptians passed direct from the Age of Stone to that of Iron needs revision, as the use of copper among them is established, and the estimate that the Palæolithic period covers about five thousand years is wholly inadequate, East Anglia having recently yielded stone tools of human workmanship which are found in pre-glacial beds approximately a million years old. Neither can M. Hauser's assignment of the Central Asian plateau as "le berceau d'humanité" pass unchallenged, although, in later epochs, it may have been a centre of migrations. Stress is properly laid on the impetus to monotheism given by the Jews, though it should be borne in mind that this impetus was quickened through their contact with Zoroastrianism. But when all is said that can be said by way of qualification, the fact remains that the large questions dealt with in this book have received worthy treatment, and open new vistas of reflection and suggestion to the historical student.

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THE gulf is wide between these two books which treat of the Rough Way; but coming with others for review, they inevitably, through this similarity of aim, pair off. No two writers could be more different than Miss Letts and Mrs. Penny—the one all sensibility and freshness; the other with real knowledge of her subject, and a subject peculiarly interesting—yet so wholly the narrator, not interpreter, that we might as well, nay, better, have obtained our view of the Out-Caste's sufferings from a newspaper. Every day seems to set fresh questions to be answered with respect to the story-teller's art. Now it shall be the mystery of color, texture, that intrigues us; again, the still more essential problem of the "passage through personality." We confess that our instinct, like the Goncourts', leaps to the subjective artist. A book which seems to have been passed through the crucible of the writer's inmost nature

will set us, other things being equal, farther on the road of adventure than the aloof, cool "telling," however excellent, of one whose method is objective. Frequently we are reproved, frequently reminded that in the great world-stories, in fairy-tale, in legend, it is all telling, that there is no "intrusion of personality." . . . We listen; disagree—silently or articulately, according to the intelligence of the rebuker. There is no intrusion of personality indeed; but is there no passage through personality? Eloquently unanswered we leave our question.

"The Rough Way" has this, to us, delightful quality, and many other charms besides. One of the greatest of these is its utter freshness. Miss Letts might never, in that sense, have read a novel in her life. She has read many, and much else as well; nevertheless, her work bears no trace of any kind of literary influence. When such work is as good as hers, this is high praise. Sincerity, insight, and tenderness, a grave humor, little force indeed, but a deep conviction which inspires cordial liking, though not entire response—all these she has, and these are much. Where she notably excels is in her swiftly touched vignettes of domesticity. The scenes in Antony Hesketh's home are admirable; each detail is that which unconsciously we look for, and welcome—and better than this, there runs through all a deep and tender sense of those sanctities of family life that still our hearts believe in, despite the cudgelling under which to-day such sentimentality must bend.

"The story," says the descriptive paragraph, "has no hero and no heroine. It tells of the failures and mistakes of very fallible people." As well have said, it is a modern novel. Yet one might affirm of Julie Vibert that she is a good deal of a heroine; for a girl of twenty-three, who sets Europe and America agog with her "decorative" acting, is about as near as we can get nowadays to the genuine old brand. That she is not good-looking is a small thing: to be decorative is to be "not pretty, but worse," as a great French actress said.

We quarrel with our author only in the farewell. That last scene between Antony and Julie! He has now become a member of an Anglican community; their love-affair has long been over, and after she has heard him preach in St. Paul's, they meet again. No thought of beguilement is in her mind; though she knows that she loves him, can love no man else—but their lives had been closely intertwined in childhood, ere love came, and so she asks him to come and see her. He comes. The horrible commonplace of his accost, the hard, bright ugliness of his whole speech and demeanor! We can best convey the effect upon us of this probably truthful presentment of the priest by saying that for us it destroys all the persuasive, cumulative spell of the rest. Instantly we recall the epithet of Byron for another cleric—"japped." Antony Hesketh, hitherto so lovable, human, eager, foolish, good to see and hear, has not only "grown more substantial in mind and body," but is japped. . . . The book remains, in spite of this, an achievement which will cause us to look, not so much for "other work from the same pen," as, jealously, for the keeping of that pen from any work that is not as finely wrought, as pure in heart, as "The Rough Way."

* * * * *

"The Out-Caste" is the story of a high-caste Hindu, who turns to the Christian faith, and of the persecution which he suffers from his angry family. The opening chapters are admirable, but as the book proceeds we lose interest; it becomes too much the concocted story; instead of using the religious motive which fills the early scenes with tragedy and truth, the author, for the sake of, we really know not what, introduces the stale device of the wicked uncle, who hopes to gain the riches that Ananda, through his parents' wrath, may lose. Mrs. Penny knows her subject well. The pictures of the Hindu household are excellent; the infinitely pathetic little figure of Mayita, the child-widow, constrains our hearts to angry pity. But the complications of the plot are wholly tedious; the Wenaston chapters are dull and lifeless; the "humorous" character, Mrs. Hulver, is a disaster. All this, in short, is mechanical, the work of the "old novelistic hand." "The Out-Caste," compared with "The Rough Way," is as a modern machine-made to an antique Chinese vase: into the one, acquaintance with "the demand" has entered; into the other, only the primal joy of expression.

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